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594 represents one's family of orientation or one's family of procreation. A child is subordinate to both his parents, while a married woman is subordinate to her husband, and a married man is superior to all in the household.

594 867 The household group is the primary educational institution in Carib life; boys are trained in men's duties by their fathers, girls are instructed in the activities of women by their mothers. In the absence of club houses or other extra-curricula educational institutions, the home is the primary agency for the dissemination and formation of the socially accepted attitudes. Furthermore, the home is the primary economic unit of the community.

594 Membership in a household group is terminated by age, as in the case of children who grow up and form households of their own; by agreement, as in the case of certain types of divorce; by disputes, as when a husband and wife quarrel; or by death.

601 **The Kin.** Outside the more intimate relations of the family or household lies the larger group of the kin.

The kinship terminology is presented in the appended lists. In List I will be found in separate columns the Carib equivalents of English terms of relationship used respectively by men and by women. List II presents the English equivalents of Carib terms of relationship used by men. List III presents the English equivalents of Carib terms of relationship used by women. The relationship system is presented graphically in the Charts (Figs. 7 & 8). In the lists, certain terms will be found in parentheses; these represent alternatives or variants given by occasional informants. The terms without parentheses are those in general use. In certain cases prefixes and suffixes are enclosed in parentheses, indicating that the syllable thus enclosed is sometimes, but not invariably, used with the term in question. In the absence of contradictory evidence, I have assumed that the suffix *-ko* does not change the fundamental meaning of the stem of a kinship term.

124 Regarding the accuracy of the present lists, I may say that the terms were collected by the geneological method. Complete geneologies for two Carib settlements, Kariako and Sawari, were taken. The words were then checked through with several informants, in the abstract, and with case material at every opportunity. Finally, to check on the accuracy of my interpreter's translations, all the information was checked with Mr. and Mrs. H. Pestano

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124 of Towakaima. Both have received elementary educations in the colonial schools, and Mrs. Pestano, who was born a Carib, speaks the Carib language fluently and is personally acquainted with much of the case material.

601 Following is an analytical outline of the system:

ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

A. CONSANGUINEAL RELATIVES

I. Classification

a. Same generation as speaker

1. Parallel cousins are classed with siblings (with sex distinction).
   a. Exception: a woman calls her maternal parallel cousins (i.e., the children of her mother's sister) by the same terms which she uses for her own children.
2. Cross cousins are classed together (with sex distinction).
   a. Note: a woman calls her female cross cousins *yedole*, a distinctive term; but she calls her male cross cousins *iyao* (*ko*), the same term which she applies to her mother's brother.
   b. Note: a man calls his female cross cousins *takano*, but he also applies this term to his sister's daughter and the children of his female parallel cousins.

b. First ascending generation

1. Father, father's brother, and father's male parallel cousins are classed together.
2. Mother, mother's sister, and mother's female parallel cousins are classed together.

c. Second ascending generation

1. All members of the grandparents' generation are classed together (with sex distinction).

d. First descending generation

1. Man speaking
   a. Classes together in one group own children, brother's children, children of male parallel cousins, and children of female cross cousins (all with sex distinction).
   b. Classes together in a second group sister's children, children of female parallel cousins, and children of male cross cousins (all with sex distinction).
      (1) Calls the females of this group takano ("cross cousin").
2. Woman speaking
   a. Classes together in one group own children, sister's children, children of female parallel cousins (all with sex distinction).
      (1) Note: also included in this class are the children of mother's sister.

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(2) Note: children of maternal parallel cousins are called grandchildren without sex distinction. 601

b. Classes together in a second group brother's children, children of male parallel cousins (with the exception of maternal parallel cousins' children, noted above), and children of female cross cousins.

e. Second descending generation

1. All members of the grandchildren's generation are classed together (without sex distinction).

II. Distinction

a. Sex

1. Relatives are distinguished by sex in all generations except the second descending, or grandchildren's generation.

a. Exception: a woman calls her maternal cross cousins' children *ipwaru* (grandchildren), and therefore does not distinguish them by sex.

b. Age

1. Siblings and parallel cousins of both sexes are distinguished as to whether or not they are older or younger than the speaker.

a. Exception: a woman calls the children of her mother's sister, according to sex, son and daughter respectively and thus makes no age distinction.

c. Relationship

1. Same generation as speaker

a. Siblings and parallel cousins as a group are distinguished from cross cousins.

(1) Neither within the class of parallel cousins and siblings nor within the class of cross cousins are distinctions made indicating whether or not the relationship to the speaker is through the father or the mother.

(a) Exception: a woman calls the children of her mother's sister "children" as distinguished from her paternal parallel cousins whom she calls "brothers and sisters."

2. First ascending generation

a. Father, father's brother and their parallel cousins are distinguished from mother's brother and the latter's parallel cousins.

b. Mother, mother's sister, and their parallel cousins are distinguished from father's sister and the latter's parallel cousins.

3. Second ascending generation

a. No relational distinctions are made in the grandparents' generation.

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4. First descending generation
   a. Man speaking
      (1) Distinction is made between the group comprising own children, brother's children, children of male parallel cousins, children of female cross cousins and the group comprising sister's children, children of female parallel cousins, and children of male cross cousins.
         (a) Note: a man further distinguishes the female children of his sister and of his female parallel cousins, by calling them takano (female cross cousin).
   b. Woman speaking
      (1) Distinction is made between the group ("sons and daughters") comprising her own children, sister's children, and children of female parallel cousins and the group ("nephews and nieces") comprising brother's children, children of male parallel cousins, and children of female cross cousins.
         (a) Note: A woman calls the children of her maternal parallel cousins by the same terms which she uses for her own grandchildren.
5. Second descending generation
   a. No relational distinction is made for members of the grandchildren's generation.

B. RELATIVES BY AFFINITY

1. Mother's sister's husband is equivalent to father and father's brother and their parallel cousins.
2. Father's sister's husband is equivalent to mother's brother.
3. Mother's brother's wife is equivalent to father's sister.
4. Father's brother's wife is equivalent to mother's sister.
5. Man speaking: children of wife's sister are equivalent to his own children; children of his wife's brother are equivalent to his "nephews and nieces" (i.e. sister's children, children of female parallel cousins, children of male cross cousins).
   Woman speaking: children of husband's brother are equivalent to her own children (also sister's children and children of female parallel cousins); children of husband's sister are equivalent to brother's children and children of paternal male parallel cousins ("nephews and nieces").
6. Man speaking: brother's wife is equivalent to female cross cousin and sister's daughter; sister's husband is equivalent to male cross cousin.
   Woman speaking: brother's wife is equivalent to male cross cousin; sister's husband is equivalent to male cross cousin and mother's brother.
7. Spouse's brother is equivalent to male cross cousin; spouse's sister is equivalent to female cross cousin.

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Abbreviations used in following lists: fa. — father; mo. — mother; y. — younger; o. — older; bro. — brother; sis. — sister; grf. — grandfather; grm. — grandmother; dau. — daughter; grs. — grandson; grd. — granddaughter; hus. — husband.

List I

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

English	*Male Speaking*	*Female Speaking*
1. fa.	papa	papa
2. mo.	tata	tata
3. y. bro.	kami	kami — (cho)
4. o. bro.	tseo	wa'ako
5. y. sis.	(mimbo-) yenatu	kami
6. o. sis.	wa'a	wa'a
7. grf.	tamoshi	tamoshi
8. grm.	pipi	pipi
9. fa.'s o. bro.	papako (papa runa)	papako
10. fa.'s y. bro.	papako (papapide)	papako
11. fa.'s o. sis.	(tatako or) wopui	wopuko
12. fa.'s y. sis.	(tatako or) wopui	wopuko
13. mo.'s o. bro.	iyao	iyaoko
14. mo.'s y. bro.	iyao	iyaoko
15. mo.'s o. sis.	tatako (tatapaidyu)	tatako
16. mo.'s y. sis.	tatako (tatapide)	tatako
17. fa.'s bro.'s son	y — kami o — tseo	y — kamicho o — wa'a
18. fa.'s bro.'s dau.	y — mimbo yenatu o — wa'a	kami, wa'a
19. fa.'s sis.'s son	pamuko	iyao
20. fa.'s sis.'s dau.	takano	yedote
21. mo.'s bro.'s son	pamuko	iyaoko
22. mo.'s bro.'s dau.	takano	yedote
23. mo.'s sis.'s son	y — kami o — tseo	uimwe (umwe) (ume)
24. mo.'s sis.'s dau.	y — mimbo yenatu o — wa'a	yemwidye
25. spouse	puitu	unya
26. son	imuru	umwe
27. dau.	yemwidye (yemure)	yemwidye (yemure)
28. grs.	ipwaru	ipwaru

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29. grd.	ipwaru	ipwaru
30. spouse's bro.	pamuko	iyao
31. spouse's sis.	takano	yedote
32. spouse's fa.	imuru tamuru (son's gr. fa.)	umwetamuru
33. spouse's mo.	imurunote	umwenote
34. bro.'s wife	takano	yedote
35. sis.'s hus.	pamuko	iyao
36. bro.'s son	imuru	pwatumo
37. bro.'s dau.	yemwidye	pwase
38. sis.'s son	pwatumu	umwe
39. sis.'s dau.	takano	yemwidye
40. dau.'s hus.	pwarimye	pwarimye
41. son's wife	parisano	parisano
42. mo.'s bro.'s wife	wopuko	wopuko
43. mo.'s sis.'s hus.	papako	papako
44. fa.'s bro.'s wife	tatako	tatako
45. fa.'s sis.'s hus.	tamoshi, iyao (indefinite)	iyao
46. spouse's bro.'s son	pwatumu	umwe
47. spouse's bro.'s dau.	takano	yemwidye
48. spouse's sis.'s son	puitu pideme	pwatumu
49. spouse's sis.'s dau.	pnitu pide emwidye	pwase
50. stepfa.	papako	papako
51. stepmo.	tatako	tatako
52. half-bro.	kamicho	kamicho
53. half-sis.	kami	kami

List II

RELATIONSHIP TERMS — MAN SPEAKING

(See fig. 7)

1. papa — fa.
2. tata — mo.

1a. papako — fa.'s bro.; mo.'s sis.'s hus.; fa.'s male parallel cousins

2a. tatako — mo.'s sis.; fa.'s bro.'s wife; mo.'s female parallel cousins

3. kami — y. bro.; fa.'s bro.'s y. son; mo.'s sis.'s y. son

4b tseo — o. bro.; fa.'s bro.'s o. son; mo.'s sis.'s o. son

5. mimbo yenatu — y. sis.; fa.'s bro.'s y. dau.; mo.'s sis.'s y. dau.

6. wa'a — o. sis.; fa.'s bro.'s o. dau.; mo.'s sis.'s o. dau.

7. tamoshi — grf.; grf.'s bro.

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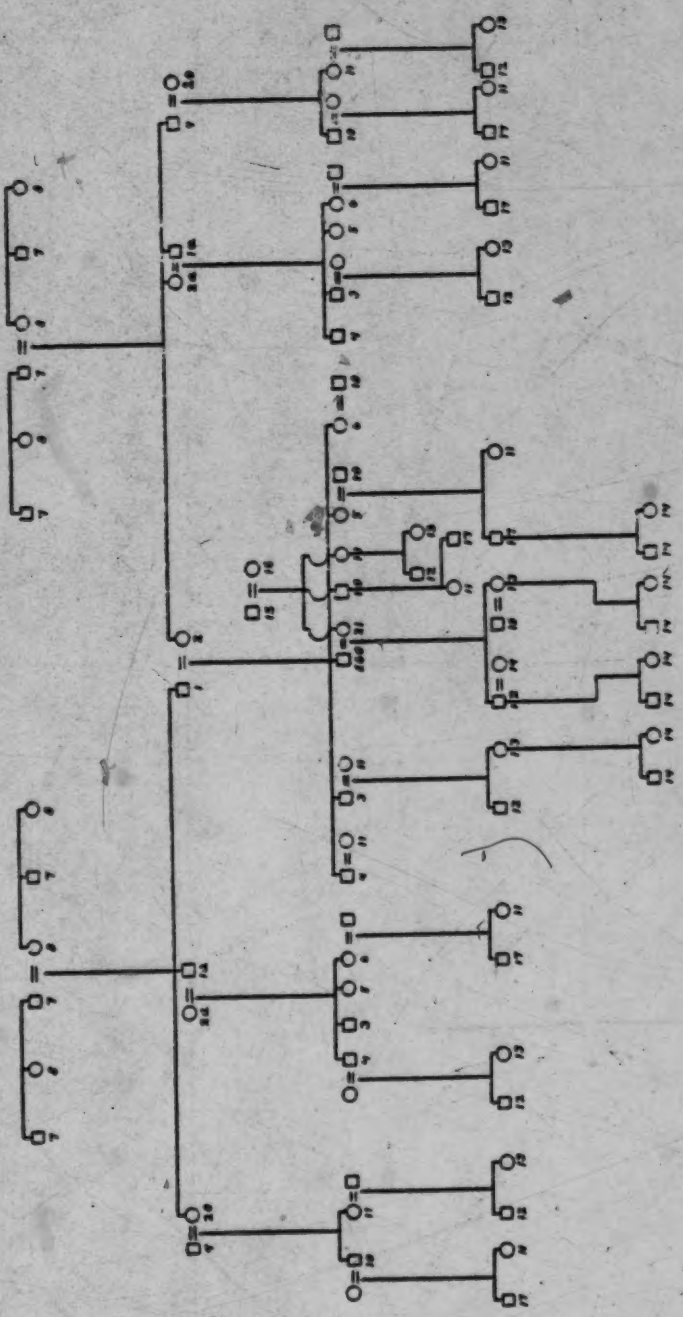

FIGURE 7

Diagram of kinship system, men speaking. Numbers refer to those in List II, Pages 87–88. Squares indicate males; circles, females.

601 8. pipi — grm.; grm.'s sis.
9. iyao — mo.'s bro.; fa.'s sis's hus.; mo.'s male parallel cousins
10. pamuko — fa.'s sis.'s son; mo.'s bro.'s son; wife's bro.; sis.'s hus.
11. takano — fa.'s sis.'s dau.; mo.'s bro.'s dau.; wife's sis.; bro.'s wife sis.'s dau.; wife's bro.'s dau.
12. imuru — son; bro.'s son; wife's sis's son
13. yemwidye — dau.; bro.'s dau.
14. ipwaru — grs.; grd. (son's child; dau.'s child)
15. imuru tamuru — fa.-in-law ("son's grf.")
16. imurunote — mo.-in-law ("son's grm.")
17. pwatumu — sis.'s son; wife's bro.'s son
18. pwarimye — dau.'s hus.
19. parisano — son's wife
20. wopui — fa.'s sis.; mo.'s bro.'s wife; fa.'s female parallel cousins (wopuko: men sometimes give this as tatako)
21. puitu — my wife

List III

RELATIONSHIP TERMS — WOMAN SPEAKING

(See fig. 8)

1. papa — fa.
2. tata — mo.
1a. papako — fa.'s bro.; mo.'s sis.'s hus.
2a. tatako — mo.'s sis.; fa.'s bro.'s wife
3. kami — y. sis.; fa.'s bro.'s y. dau.
4. wa'a — o. sis.; fa.'s bro.'s o. dau.
3a. kamicho — y. bro.; fa.'s bro.'s y. son
4a. wa'ako — o. bro.; fa.'s bro.'s o. son
7. tamoshi — grf.; grf.'s bro.
8. pipi — grm.; grm.'s sis.
9. iyao — fa.'s sis.'s son; sis.'s hus.'s bro.
9a. iyaoko — mo.'s bro.; mo.'s bro.'s son; fa.'s sis.'s hus.
10.
11.
12.
13. yemwidye (yemare) — dau.; mo.'s sis.'s dau.; sis.'s dau.; hus.'s bro.'s dau.
14. ipwaru — grs.; grd.
15.
16.

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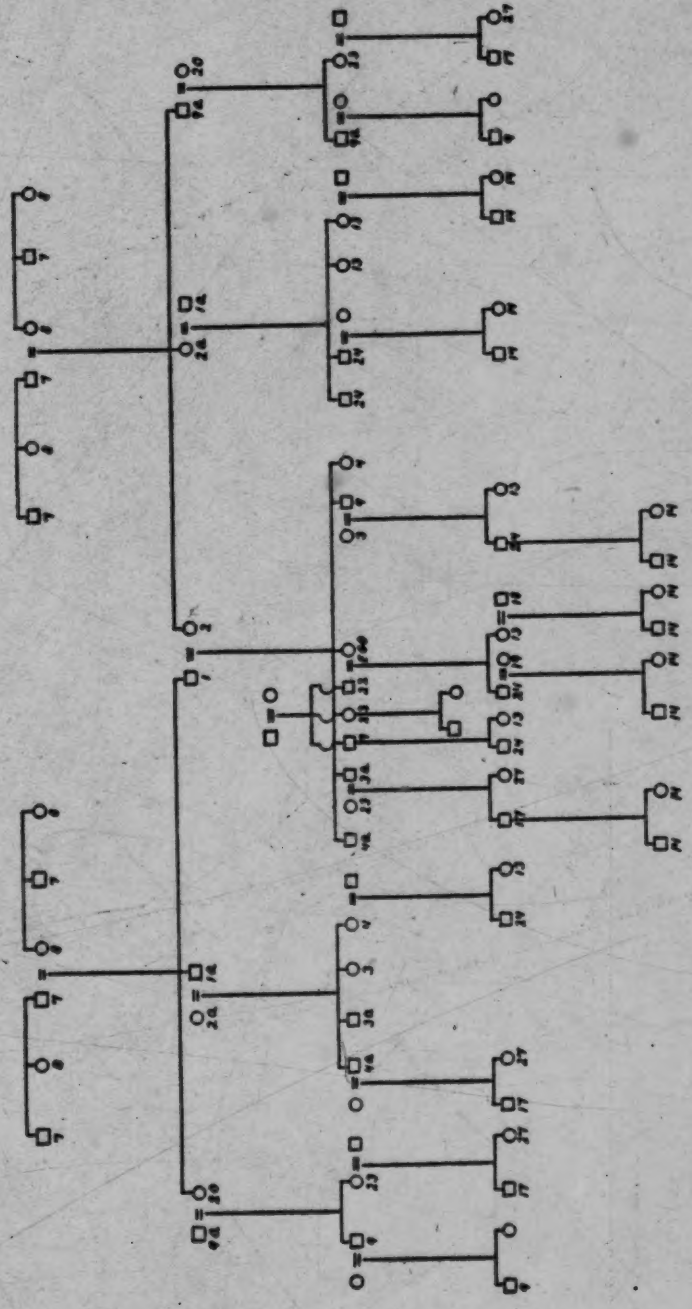

FIGURE 3

Diagram of kinship system, woman speaking. Numbers refer to those in List III, Pages 88–90. Squares indicate males; circles, females.

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601 17. pwatumu — bro.'s son; hus.'s sis.'s son
18. pwarimye — dau.'s hus.
19. parisano — son's wife
20. wopuko — fa.'s sis.; mo.'s bro.'s wife
21.
22. unya — hus.
23. yedote — fa.'s sis.'s dau.; mo.'s bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.; bro.'s wife
24. uimwe (umwe, ume) — son; mo.'s sis.'s son; sis.'s son; hus.'s bro.'s son
25. umwetamuru — hus.'s fa. ("son's grf.")
26. umwenote — hus.'s mo. ("son's grm.")
27. pwase — bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.'s dau.

601 582 If we look for the active principles of the system in the three "middle" generations (i.e. speaker's generation, first ascending, and first descending generations), we find that we have here a bifurcating system, in which relatives tracing descent through the maternal line are differentiated from those tracing descent through the paternal line. Marriage, if reflected in the terminology, is generally of the symmetrical cross cousin variety, with the exception that a man may marry his sister's daughter.[1] This is a type of terminology, in other words, which at first glance is well adapted to a dual organization or a sib system. At the present time, however, there is not the slightest indication of the presence of sibs nor of their former existence. Furthermore, no definite existence of sibs or dual organizations in Carib groups of an earlier time is to be found in the literature. Schomburgk, in speaking of the Macusi,[1] makes no mention of clans but says, "the uncle on the father's side may not marry the niece because she is regarded as next of kindred to the brothers and sisters, for which reason he also is called 'Papa.' On the other hand he is allowed to make ties with the daughter of his sister, the wife of a deceased brother and his stepmother when the father is dead." At the same time, it is hinted that descent is through the mother. However, the above mentioned marriage of a man with his sister's daughter would be contrary to the exogamic rule of a matrilinear clan, so that if any inference is to be drawn from the above statement of Schomburgk, it is that the Macusi are either patrilineal or that

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[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. II, p. 252.

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sib principles are not at work. The Carib of the Orinoco paid little attention to descent.[1] Roth, on the basis of personal investigations among Pomeroon Caribs, Akawai, Macusi, Patemona, and Taurepang (all Carib-speaking groups), was unable to find anything corresponding to group or family names which might indicate the recognized existence of sib groupings.[2]

The Macusi apparently possess, according to the somewhat fragmentary information given by Farabee and Schomburgk, a relationship system based on the same principles as that of the Barama Caribs, but are also without a sib system. Kirchhoff, in discussing this problem in a recent and illuminating paper on the social organization of the tribes of northeastern South America,[3] says "the relationship nomenclature of the Macusi is clearly built on one principle, the separation of parallel and cross relatives. . . . This type of kinship nomenclature, which we have found here among a people without sib organization and without traces of an earlier sib organization, has been reported from very many people in all parts of the world (although not from all Kultur provinces or Kulturkreises), and as well from those without as from those with sib organization. This type has been regarded by ethnologists as characteristic for sib organization and as intimately and necessarily associated with its (the sib's) fundamental principles. As, upon further investigation, nomenclatures of this type were discovered among hitherto unstudied living peoples without sib organization, a search was begun for new connections and new clarifications. The result is the modern position, which has been universally accepted by the leading North American ethnologists. Even today, however, it has received astonishingly little attention in other countries due to the widespread lack of interest in all ethnological problems. [This modern position is] that this type of nomenclature is the underlying factor in certain problems connected with the levirate and sororate, and consequently is associated with the house group, with small relation to sib organization. . . . Tylor has explained this type on the basis of the dual organization. . . . However, this type has a very

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 673.

[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 675, "An old Pomeroon Carib gave me Turewi-o and Muru-wa as the only two alleged group names of his tribe that he could remember. While ignorant of their meaning or interpretation he assured me that they had nothing to do with sexual restrictions."

[3] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat*, pp. 41–71. Translation by author.

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614 wide distribution in the world, the dual organization a narrow
601 one, so that the general explanation of the type on the basis of
171 the dual organization is not applicable" unless one assumes the later diffusion of this type of nomenclature or a former wider distribution of the dual organization, evidence for which is lacking.

601 The actual kinship usages among the Barama Caribs at the
587 present time support the view that, in the absence of sib organization, the terminology is closely connected with the customs of the levirate and the sororate. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, polygamous marriages are frequently sororal. Likewise, a widow usually marries a brother of her deceased husband. If these customs are not followed invariably at the present time, they nevertheless seem to be survivals of more stringent rules of former times. Informants state that sororate and levirate were invariable among the "old-time people." Unfortunately, while in the area itself, I did not have this problem well enough in mind to make a thorough census of marriages for the purpose of determining the actual incidence of the levirate and sororate in the total number of unions. However, practically all informants stated levirate and sororate rules in their descriptions of the choice of mates which are taken after the first marriage, indicating that this seems to be the conscious pattern, regardless of the actual behavior. In the twelve cases of polygynous marriages with the circumstances of which I was familiar, each of eight men had married his wife's sister. Of seven widows who had remarried, all had married brothers or parallel cousins (terminologically the same) of the deceased husbands.

601 Now the distinction between cross and parallel cousins and
582 the prohibition of marriage with the latter, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Barama Carib system, as can be seen from the equivalences of affinal relatives (Section B, Analysis of the Relationship System), is an obvious necessity in a society in which both the levirate and sprorate are actively functioning. The implications are obvious.[1] In many cases marriage with a child of the father's brother or mother's sister in such a society would mean marriage with an actual half-brother or half-sister.

[1] Cf. Lowie, 1919, *Family and Sib*; Lowie, 1920, *Primitive Society*, Chap. 8; Sapir, 1916, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, pp. 327–337. Somewhat same viewpoints are expressed in Kroeber, 1909, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, pp. 77–84; Radcliff-Brown, 1930, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, p. 427 ff.

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Such incestuous marriages, with a very few exceptions, are prohibited throughout human society.[1] 601 582

On the other hand, marriage with a cross cousin, while occurring about a third of the time in the geneologies, is not prescribed in the system. It is true that the spouses of one's siblings and parallel cousins are addressed by the same terms as cross cousins (e.g. sister's husband is pwatumu, brother's wife is takano), but in actual usage among the Caribs these terms for cross cousin have no true implication of blood relationship. It would be more proper to translate the terms takano (female cross cousin, man speaking) and iyao (male cross cousin, woman speaking) as "marriageable." In other words, a Carib man will address any woman whom he does not know definitely to be a parallel cousin or sister as takano, a Carib woman will address any man as iyao whom she knows is not her brother or parallel cousin. Any individual called by these terms is a possible mate. All other persons are impossible as mates. I, being a stranger, was frequently called iyao by the women. This is not to say that the Caribs do not generally know which individuals are their cross cousins by blood relationship, but it simply means that no terminological distinction is made between true cross cousins and other marriageable persons. Such extension of terms is entirely inconsistent with a dual organization.

A further indication that the kinship terminology is unconnected with a former sib or dual organization is the indifference displayed 601 614

[1] This is not the place to enter into an elaborate theoretical discussion of incest tabus. We may, however, offer an explanation of their origin which does not depend on a supposed inherent repulsion against incest nor upon the presence or structure of the sib group. Assume, for the sake of making the point clear, that marriage was originally practised between brothers and sisters. It is the nature of things that all marriages could not be of this type over a considerable length of time. In the first place, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal in every human family. Some persons would therefore be obliged to seek mates outside the immediate family. In the second place, individual preference in some cases would naturally dictate the choice of a mate from those who were not numbered among the brothers or sisters of the chooser. Again an outside marriage would take place. Once an individual has married outside his family he has doubled his social resources; he has two families behind him instead of one; and the two groups united in the marriage have a basis therein for common interests. In the competition for survival which takes place among individuals and among families in all human society, even today, the person who married outside his family, and his family itself, would be in a stronger position than those who married siblings and families in which this was the only type of marriage. Thus two types of family would arise to compete against each other, the exogamic and the endogamic. Because of their greater social influence, which would of course be strengthened with the development of property concepts, the exogamic families would presumably force the endogamic families into extinction. At least they would force the practise of family endogamy into extinction. Before this had become complete, however, the exogamic families would have imposed a formula to define their position, as is the universal practise of all social institutions. This formula would have been the incest tabu. By the time the exogamic family had completely eliminated the endogamic type, the incest tabu would have become an integral part of the family structure. Viewed in this light the incest tabu may be considered as a social rather than a biological restriction, imposed by the successful exogamic type of family during the course of its social competition with the endogamic type of family. With the later rise of sib concepts the extension of the tabu, in certain cases, would arise naturally. 835

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601 614 in the terminology concerning the lineal affiliations of the grandparent's generation and of the grand-children's generation. As explained above, the separation of the maternal and paternal lines in the three "middle" generations is a natural reflection of the incest tabus which arise in a society in which the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. Under such conditions terminological distinctions are functionally necessary in the three middle generations, but are merely superfluous in the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. On the other hand, if the system were based on a sib organization, a host of economic, religious, and social factors would demand a recognition of the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations, if these generations were recognized at all. Such a lack of interest in the linear affiliations of the second ascending and second descending generations, as displayed in the Barama Carib system, is wholly foreign to the systems of the majority of sib organizations of which we know.

601 587 We may summarize the facts favoring the contention that the Barama Carib kinship terminology, which distinguishes the maternal and paternal lines only in the three "middle" generations, is connected with the levirate and sororate rather than with a sib or dual organization. 1. The levirate and sororate are still actively functioning, while there is no evidence of a present or former sib grouping. 2. Indifference is displayed in the terminology concerning the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and of the grandchildren's generations. 3. Cross cousins are equated with all marriageable persons, whether demonstrably related by blood or not, a usage inconsistent with a strict dual organization.

603 591 The failure to distinguish sex of grandchildren reflects the break-up of the family which occurs as a result of extralocal marriage. Informants displayed great difficulty in remembering their grandchildren, because, as they said, their children move away after marriage and they lose track of their grandchildren. It will be remembered that marriage is matrilocal only until the birth of the first child. Birth and rearing of grandchildren usually takes place in a settlement removed from that of the grandparents. The average old man or woman will have difficulty in telling how

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

• 601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

[591]

602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

101 121 the understanding of Barama Carib social life in general. Carib life exhibits little institutionalism or formalism that is visible to the naked eye, little that is self-explanatory at first glance. What we desire to understand, therefore, are the factors which cause individuals to live together in a community, the factors which tend to disrupt the community, and the extent of compromise and methods whereby a balance is maintained between these opposing factors so that the stability of the group is maintained. We also wish to know how the life of the individual is enriched by community life and how the activities of the individual are coordinated with those of the group.

601 621 Let us first examine the blood relationships of the members of the settlement. In Figure 13 (at the end of the book) the blood connections of the several residents of Sawari are indicated. Here are given the English names of all individuals in the group who possess such designations, together with the terms of relationship used by Miller, the headman of the settlement, in addressing each individual. The relationship terms were checked through other men and women, and the blood lines were laboriously traced in pidgin English and through an interpreter. Even so, I am not satisfied that the chart completely represents the situation, inasmuch as one of the blood lines could not be traced satisfactorily with the linguistic resources at my command; and I am unwilling to project a geneology from the relationship terms alone. Therefore, the group of brothers composed of Samuel, Columbus, and Henry Daniel, lack precise antecedents in the chart. It was stoutly maintained that these three men came originally from another settlement and that they are distant cousins of Miller. The latter calls them pamuko, the term for male cross cousin, but I was unable to obtain a coherent explanation of the exact connection, so I have preferred to leave the connection indefinite in the chart. Since they are considered blood relatives by Miller and his group, I have so designated them on the chart.

On the chart are indicated five lines of blood relationship. Thus, Miller is demonstrably related by blood to twenty-five of the forty-seven members of the settlement (indicated by solid line); if we include the three above named brothers, Miller is the blood relative of twenty-eight members of the population. John Cook is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

by dash line). David is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated by dot-dash line). Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased wife, is related by blood to seven individuals (indicated by dotted line). Christina, David's present wife, and her sister Margaret make up the fifth blood group (indicated by a line composed of dashes interspersed with two dots). Unconnected with these five blood groups are Rose, wife of John, and Lulu, the wife of Edwin.

Now it is certainly possible that all the members of this settlement are more or less distant blood relatives. According to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls. The local traditions of the Indians state that their ancestors migrated into the Barama country from a former home around the head of the Corentyne River. Less than a hundred years ago, Schomburgk found a few Akawai villages on the Barama, apparently representatives of the tribe which formerly occupied the whole region and which at that time was in the process of being eliminated.[1] Even today the Barama Caribs express a feeling of antagonism toward the Akawais as a group, perhaps a survival of the rivalry between the two groups consequent upon the Carib usurpation of the area. On the basis of this evidence it would seem improbable that the ancestors of the present Caribs were in the Barama area much before two hundred years ago. And it would be conceivable that in some distant way most of the present living individuals are related by blood. However, the isolation of the settlements and the difficulties of travel in the region have in many cases erased the memory of such connections from the minds of the people, if in fact such connections actually existed. The important fact from the sociological point of view is that in many instances, as here at Sawari, individuals are not consciously aware of actual blood relationship with certain other individuals.

Reference to the preceding section will acquaint the reader with the kinship terminology. In checking this material I found that men applied the term pamuko (male cross cousin) not only to men who were known to be their cross cousins, but also to all men of the speaker's generation who were not known to be parallel cousins, men, that is, who were not considered actual blood rela-

[1] Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

601 tives. Analogous usage prevails in the case of takano (female cross cousin). The usage is comparable to our familiar application of the terms "brother" and "sister" to persons with whom we can trace no relationship. At the same time, an individual is always aware of those individuals with whom he can trace actual blood relationship. It is this loose usage of the terms for cross cousin which prevent one from projecting relationships on the basis of terminology alone. It also lessens the precision with which mar-
582 riages may be studied, because although in many of the cases which I investigated the mates turned out to be traceable cross cousins of closer or more remote degree, in other instances this was not the case. In other words, the terminology implies a positive rule that a cross cousin be chosen as the mate, as well as the negative rule that marriage must not be contracted with a parallel cousin. But in actual practice the negative rule is rigidly adhered to, whereas the positive rule is broadened so that eligible mates include all individuals of the opposite sex who are called cross cousins, whether or not the actual blood connection is known. Thus, at Sawari, Miller's present father-in-law, David, if the terminological implications of the system were carried out, should be either the brother of Miller's mother, or one of her male parallel cousins, or the husband of Miller's father's sister, or the husband of one of Miller's father's female parallel cousins. Both David and Miller were emphatic in stating that no such blood connection existed between them.

601 For practical purposes, then, we have five groups of blood rela-
621 tives at Sawari, whom we may designate respectively as Miller's
582 group (twenty-nine individuals), John Cook's group (seven individuals), David's group (seven individuals), Mary's group (eight individuals), and Christina's group (two individuals).

If we turn now to the affinal relationships we see that certain of the above-mentioned blood groups are interconnected by marriage. The several groups vary, however, in the direction of such contacts. Thus, John Cook's group is connected by marriage only with Miller's group, through the marriages of John Cook, Mary, Daniel, and Susan, all of whom married blood relatives of Miller. The John Cook group has no other connections. Christina's group is connected by marriage only to David's group, through the marriage of these two individuals. The Christina group has no other

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

connection. David's group is connected with Miller's group through the marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, with the Christina group through the marriage of Christina and David, and with Mary's group through the marriage of Cecelia and Joseph; but David's group has no connections with the John Cook group. Miller's group has direct connections by marriage with the Mary group through the marriage of Miller to Mary's deceased sister, with the David group by marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, and with the John Cook group by the marriages of Columbus, Elsie, Henry, and Laura; Miller's group, however, has no direct connection with Christina's group. Mary's group is connected with the Miller group by marriage of Miller and Mary's deceased sister, and with the David group by marriage of Joseph and Cecelia, but has no direct connection with the Christina group or John Cook's group.

To summarize, we find each of the five blood groups connected by marriage with one or more of the other blood groups. Miller's group is connected by marriage with three other groups; David's group is connected with three other groups; Mary's group is connected with two other groups; and Christina's and John Cook's each have only one such connection.

Let us now examine the number of individual marriage contacts each group has made with the other groups. Members of Miller's group are involved in ten marriages (including Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). Six of these marriages involve members of three of the other four blood groups in the settlement; two marriages were made with outsiders whose blood groups are not otherwise represented in the settlement (Edwin and Lulu, John and Rose); two marriages were made within the Miller group (Samuel and Elizabeth, Henry and Caroline). Of the six marriages involving groups in the settlement other than Miller's, four were made with members of the John Cook group (Columbus and Susan, Elsie and Daniel, Henry Daniel and Mary, Laura and John Cook), one with David's group (Miller and Elizabeth), and one with Mary's group (Miller and Mary's sister). John Cook's group has made four outside marriages, all of them involving members of Miller's group. David's group has made three outside marriages, Mary's group has made two, and Christina's group one. These facts are tabulated in Table A.

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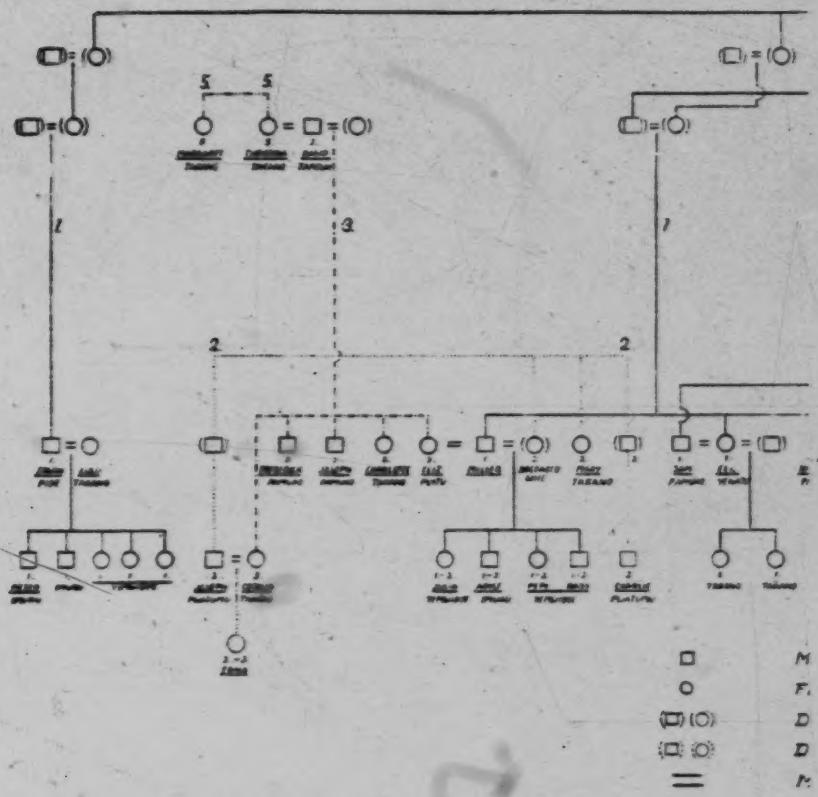

FIGURE

Diagram of blood relationship at Sawari settlement. Each living person be
ley's group; 2. Mary's group; 3, David's group; 4. John Cook's group;
tinguished as follows: solid line, Miller's group; dotted line, Mary's gro
dots and dash. Christina's group. Christian name of each individual is
term used by Miller in referring to or addressing the individual.

[Figure 13 (1). following end plate 3]

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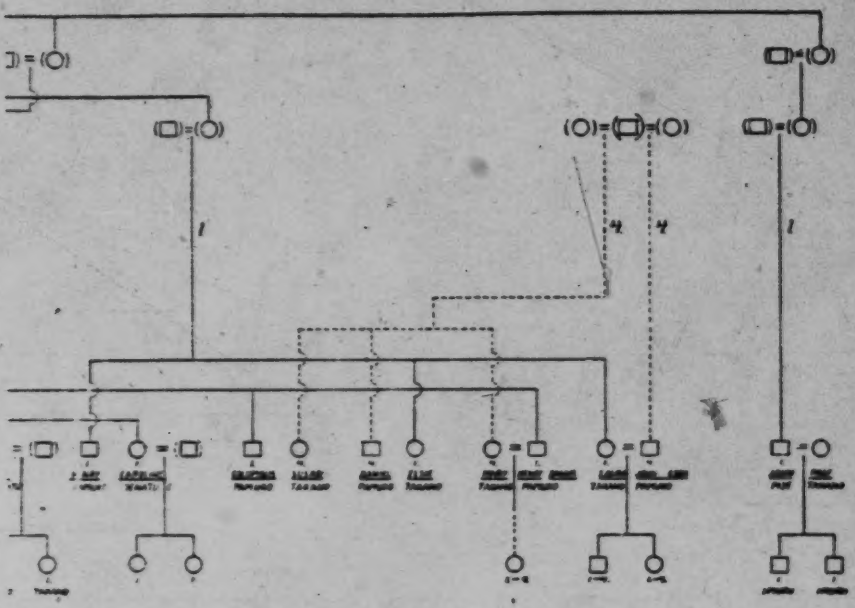

MALE
FEMALE
DECEASED
DIVORCED
MARRIED

FIGURE 13

ng person labelled with number of his lineage or relationship group: 1. Mil-'s group; 5. Christina's group. Connecting lines showing relationship are die-ary's group; cots and dashes. David's group: dashes. John Cook's group; two ividual is underlined. Directly under the Christian name is the relationship

[figure 13 (2), following end plate 30]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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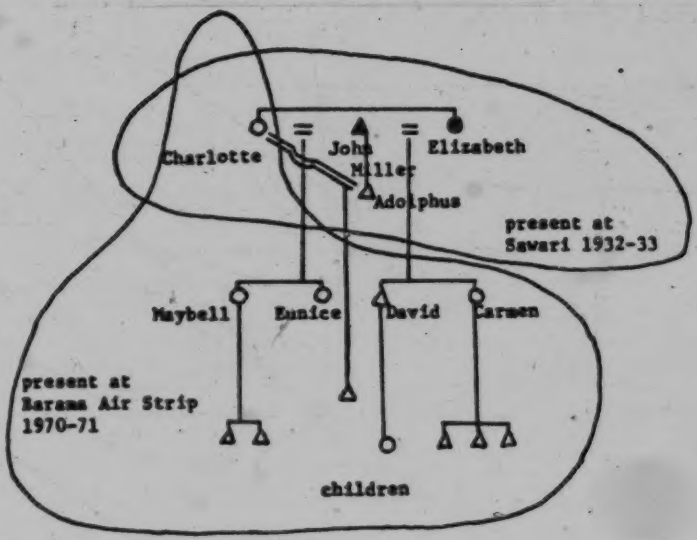

Figure 5. Offspring of John Miller among the Current Population.

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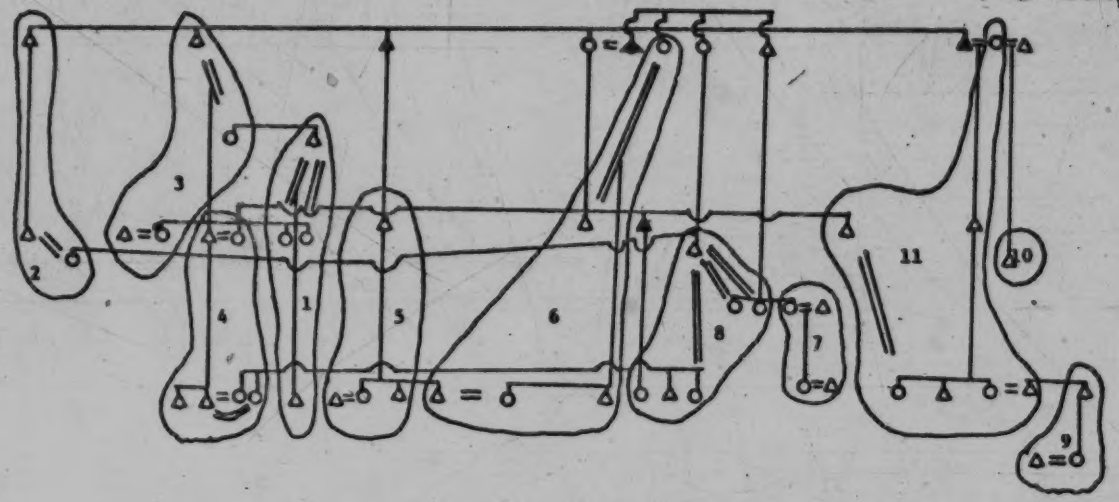

Figure 12. Kinship Relationships and Cooperative Boundaries among the Carib Men Residing near In Time and at Big Creek, 1969.*

*Only the most immediate kinship relationships are detailed, although wider affiliations add much more complexity. Accordingly, wives are only represented when they are links in the relationships among these men.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

000 household context is reflected in the kinship system.

Kinship

*179 • 601 Persistence and change in elements of the kinship system are in keeping with changes in household composition and relationships among households. The kinship system in use during Gillin's field work is reported in Figures 14 and 15. Figures 16 and 17 present the kinship system in use during 1970-71. Table 13 compiles the Carib terms used by males; Table 14, those used by females.

601 Basically, this is a cognatic system with Iroquoian features. Categories of individuals in three middle generations, ego's and the immediate ascending and descending generations are identified. Aspects of bifurcate merging are evident in all three of these generations. The terminology extends one more generation in each direction. However, all individuals in the categories grandmother, grandfather, and grandchild are socially identical. There is no further lineal extensions. Although Gillin entertains the possibility (1936:90-98), there is no premise for sib or clan organization. Rather, this is a particularly egocentric kinship system. Its major purpose appears to be the categorization of people for each individual. A person's sex and age affect the manner in which related individuals are designated, and the changes in the system of categorization reflect shifts in the patterns of interaction among categories of people.

[114] [614] [618] [561]

175 601 The kinship system as reported by Gillin is one particularly suited to operating among a relatively small, endogamous population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 130]

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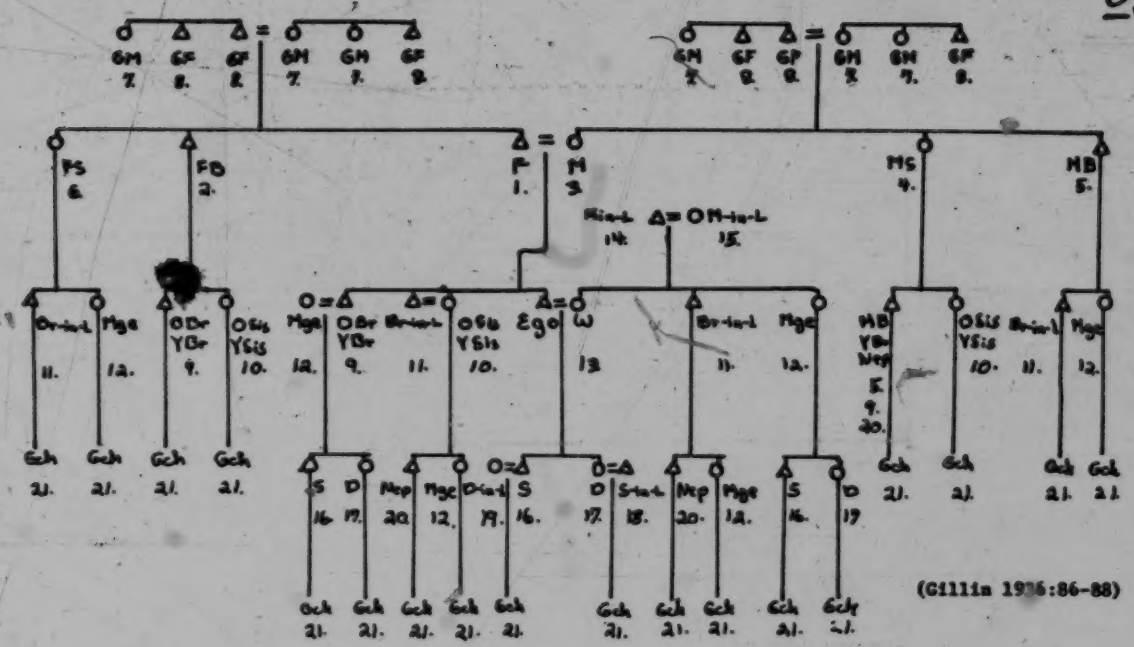

(Gillin 1936:86-88)

Figure 14. Kinship System, 1932-33. Terms of Address and Reference, Male Speaking.

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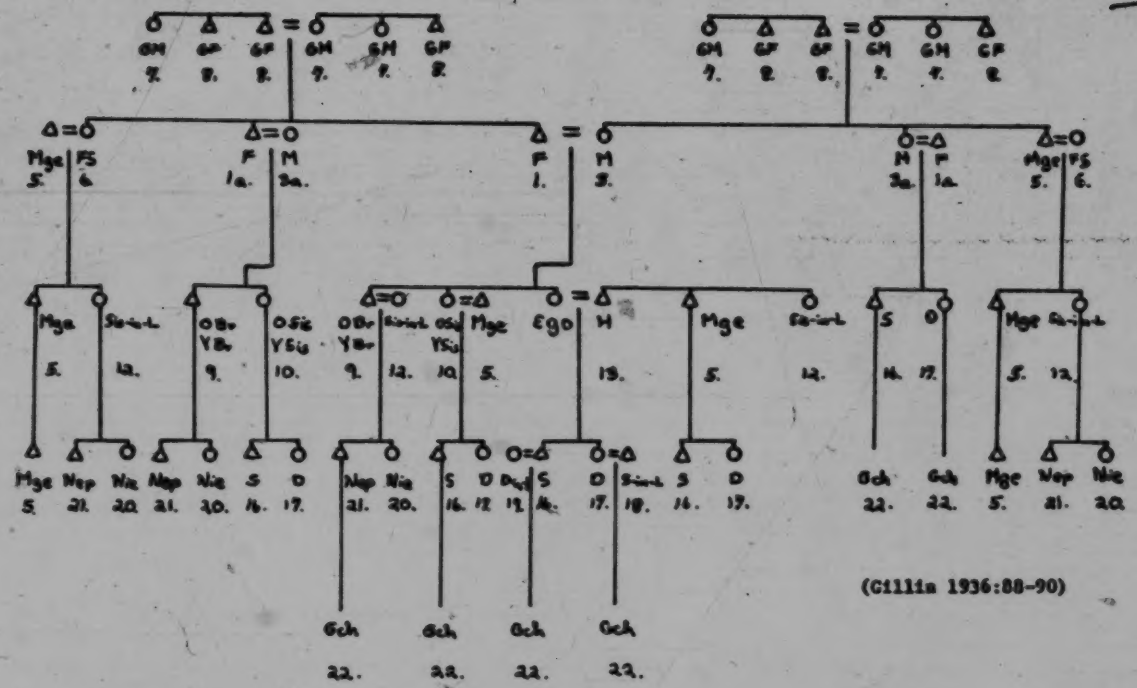

Figure 15. Kinship System, 1932-33. Terms of Address and Reference, Female Speaking.

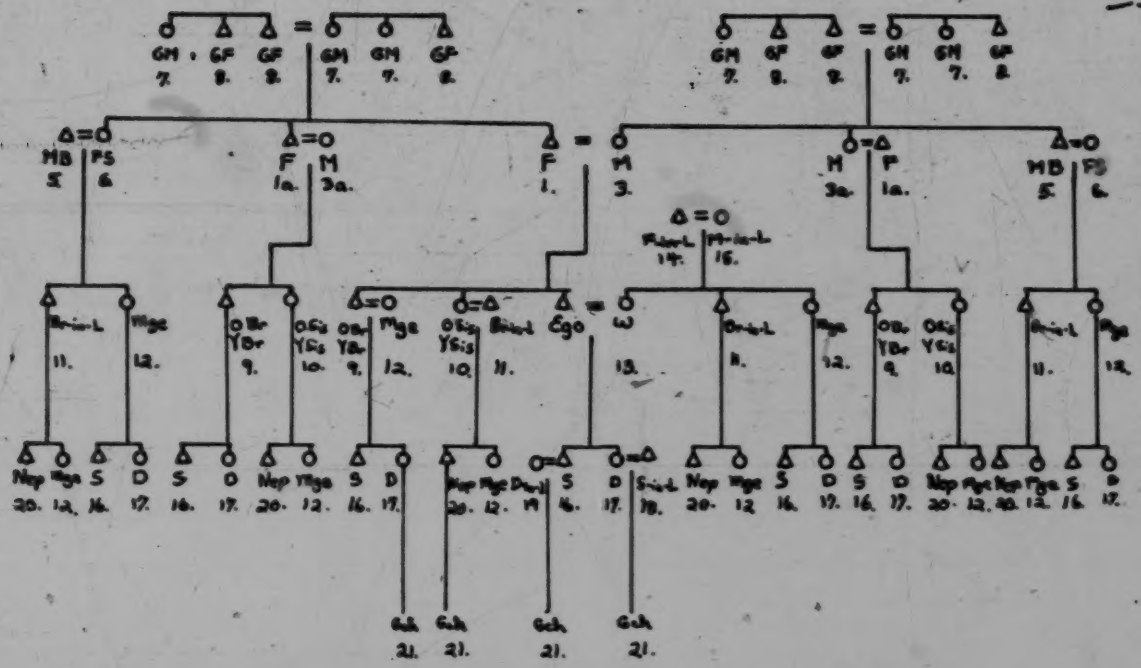

Figure 16. Kinship System, 1970-71. Terms of Address and Reference, Male Speaking.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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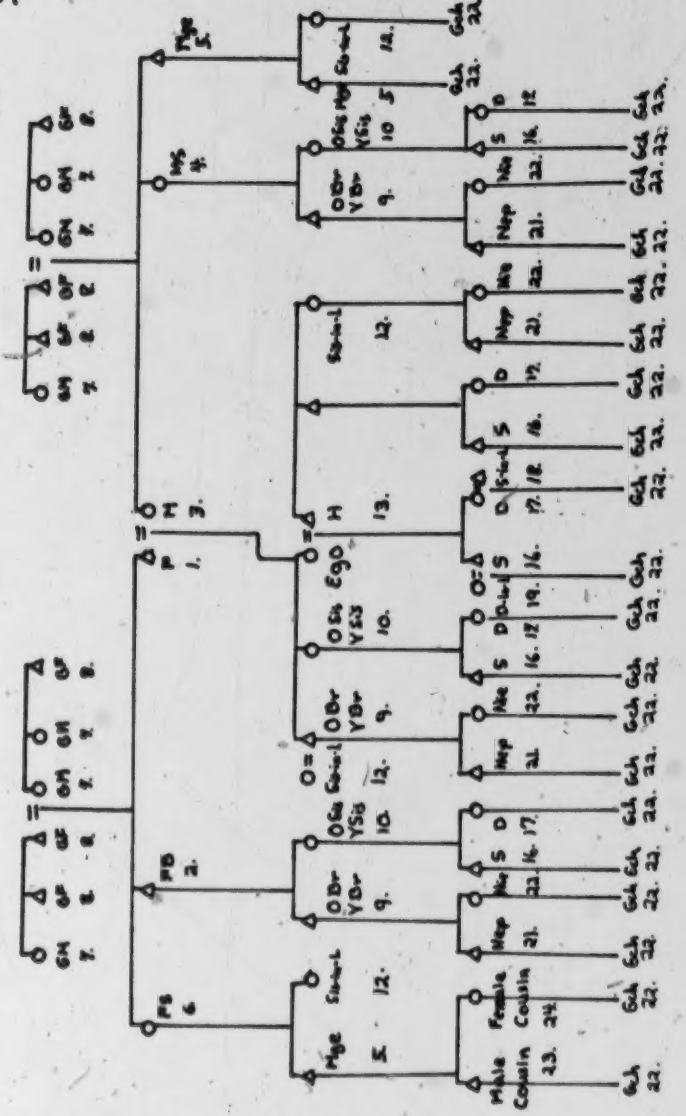

Figure 17. Kinship System, 1970-71. Terms of Address and Reference, Female Speaking.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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TABLE 13

KINSHIP TERMS FOR ADDRESS AND REFERENCE, MALE SPEAKING

	1932-33	1970-71
1. F	papa	papayo
1a. FB	papako	2. yumuko
3. M	tata	mamayo, tatayo
3a. MSis	tatako	4. seanoko
5. MB	iyao	ya'oko, yawole, ka'topo
6. FSis	wopui	wopu ko, yaopule
7. GM	pipi	pipi
8. GF	tamoshi	tamosi, teamolo
9. OB	taeo	eao
YB	kami	pije, pide, po'chole
10. OSis	wa'a	wa'a
YSis	mimbo yenatu	yenate
11. B-in-L	pamuko	pamüko
12. Marriageable	takano	teakano
13. Wife	puitu	puete
14. F-in-L	imuru tamuru	tambalacon, ë'nëtamolo
15. M-in-L	imurnote	ë'nënote, ë'nënoyang, puetesano
16. S	imuru	emülü, po'chole
17. D	yemwidye (yemare)	yemuje, yemueale
18. S-in-L	pwarimye	puealë'në'
19. D-in-L	parisano	puealesano
20. Nep.	pwatumu	pueatë'në'
21. Grandchild	ipwaru	pueale

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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TABLE 14

KINSHIP TERMS FOR ADDRESS AND REFERENCE, FEMALE SPEAKING

	1932-33		1970-71
1. F	papa		papayo
1a. FB	papako	2.	yumuko
3. M	tata		mamayo, tatayo
3a. MSis	tatako	4.	seanoko
5. Marriageable	iyaoko		ya'oko, yawole, ka'topo
6. FSis	wopuko		wopu'ko, yaopule
7. GM	pipi		pipi
8. GF	tamoshi		tamosi, teamolo
9. OB YB	wa'ako kamicho		wa'aiyo pije, po'chole, ka'micho
10. OSis YSis	wa'a kami		wa'a, pwaje ma'mio, piche, ka'micho
12. Sis-in-L	yedote		yedote
13. Husband	unya		ünyo
16. S	uimwe		ë'më, po'chole
17. D	yemwidje		yemuje, yemueale
18. S-in-L	pwarimye		peualë'më
19. D-in-L	parisano		puealesano
20. Niece	pwase		pwase
21. Nep.	pwatumu		pueatë'më
22. Grandchild	ipwaru		pueale
		23. FBSS	pamüko
		24. FBSD	teakano

175 • 601 [587] to provide personnel for universal marriage and the wider circle of cooperating kin. The practice of the levirate and sororate as well as sororal polygyny (Gillin 1936:92) are consistent with this kinship system in which the identities of members of the nuclear family are merged with specific collateral kin. For both male and female egos, father and father's brother are identical and distinguished from mother's brother. Mother and mother's sister are identical and father's sister is a separate category. For the male ego, parallel cousins are identical with siblings and distinguished from cross cousins. For the female ego, this pattern pertains except for the designation of maternal parallel cousins. These individuals are categorized as the female ego's own children and reflect a provision for marriage with mother's brother. However, most commonly, symmetrical cross-cousin marriage was practiced. In the geneaologies Gillin recorded, one third of the marriages were of this type (1936: 93). He recorded only two marriages with sister's daughter (1936:95).

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With this one exception, the only fictive erosion of generational levels concerns the categorization of marriageable partners. For males, these people are in his generation and the one below his. They include his female cross cousins and sisters-in-law as well as the daughters of his male cross cousins and his sisters' and parallel female cousins' daughters. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage, a particular female may fall into more than one of these relationships. Also, all strangers of the opposite sex and generally of the same age are included. For females, marriageable categories occur in all three middle generations. These are mother's brothers, male

cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again, a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships. All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage, these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of recruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category of marriageable individuals.[8]

The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also merged as one category.

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed

*177 • 601 561 between these two categories of individuals, and they were socially identical as siblings. Also, there is more evidence for the separation of siblings from parallel cousins. The female ego tends to reserve the term k'anicho to designate younger parallel cousins of both sexes. This term is rarely used to designate siblings. Also, a few men reserve the term yopoko to refer exclusively to their older sister. A fuller differentiation of siblings and parallel cousins has not yet emerged.

*177 601 This separation of the kinship identities of members of the nuclear family from collateral kin is also evident in the first descending generation. For both male and female egos, the term yemuje tends to be reserved for actual daughter; the term yemueale, for other categorical daughters. For male ego, the term emülü tends to be reserved for actual son; po?chole, for categorical sons. For female ego, the term ë'më tends to be used for actual son; po?chole, for categorical sons. In addition, both male and female egos use the term po?chole for a younger brother. This merging is an exception to the pattern of emerging separate identities for the collateral kin that were previously equated with members of the nuclear family.

*177 601 582 Marriageable categories for both males and females are now more limited. However, with the larger, centralized population, there are more individuals in these categories. Females now have marriageable partners in their generation and the first ascending generation. Those in the first descending generation have been eliminated.[10] Mother's brother and cross cousin remain marriageable and are merged in a single category. Among the three terms used by a female to

designate this category, there is no clear tendency for an emerging separate kinship identity. Also, strange men continue to be included in this marriageable category. As before, the males still have marriageable partners in their generation and the first descending generation. In addition to cross cousin and sister-in-law, this marriageable category extends among related individuals only to sister's and wife's brother's daughters. All women otherwise unidentified and approximately the same age as ego are also included.

There is some tendency to regard an actual sister's daughter separately from the marriageable category. A few men use the term wolije only for actual sister's daughter. Furthermore, the previous designation for a female's maternal parallel cross cousins as son and daughter has been changed. These individuals are now identical with female ego's siblings. Nevertheless, five marriages with sister's daughter were recorded among the Air Strip segments of the population. These marriages are dispersed among different age levels, but the individuals involved were approximately of the same age. Every time, this was a first marriage for the woman. In three cases, this was a first marriage for the man as well. The man was older by an average of 8.6 years for all of the five cases. While a girl may enter into a conjugal union as young as seven, a male does not until he is fifteen or older. Hence, these age differences are in keeping with the general pattern. This supports the suggested purpose of this type of marriage; i.e., providing marriage partners under the circumstances contingent in a relatively small population.

Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage continues to be common. Of the

*177 582 seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No *177 588 marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his grandaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

*177 582 584 Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the [602] [583] new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, nonresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the *177 606 previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.[11] Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

*177 601 Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.

cultivation, Conklin (1954:142) has also pointed out that the efficiency can only be measured by yield per unit of labor rather than per unit of area which is possible with some other types of agrarian systems.

[7]The government school at Baramita Air Strip maintains an enrollment of about 100 of which about fifty students are in daily attendance.

[8]Lave's (1966) and Riviere's (1966) arguments concerning the implications of marriage with sister's daughter in the structural integrity of a kinship system do not appear to apply in this case.

[9]From among the three terms for mother's brother, yaoko is exclusively used.

[10]Terminology from the male speaking system has been adopted for the new designation of father's sister's son's children.

[11]Carib kinship terms still reflect the acknowledgement of deference among immediate in-laws. Translated literally, a man calls his father-in-law, "my child's grandfather." He calls his mother-in-law, "my child's grandmother." Likewise, both men and women call their son-in-law, "my grandchild's father"; a daughter-in-law, "my grandchild's mother." As yet, no specific terms exist with which a woman designates a mother-in-law or father-in-law. Previously, she was not likely to meet these individuals.